UNITED NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2941
20 September 1990

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 20 September 1990, at 6 p.m.

President:	Mr. VORONTSOV	(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
Members:	Canada	Mr. FORTIER
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Colombia	Mr. PEÑALOSA
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ANET
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ethiopia	Mr. TADESSE
	Finland	Mr. TÖRNUDD
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Malaysia	Mr. RAZALI
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PICKERING
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA

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90-61086/A 1294V (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 6.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CAMBODIA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/21800, which contains the text of a draft resolution which has been prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/21689, a letter dated 30 August 1990 from the Permanent Representatives of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/21732, a letter dated 11 September 1990 from the Permanent Representatives of France and Indonesia to the United Nations, addressed to the Secretary-General.

During the consultations the members of the Council agreed not to hold a debate on this question and not to make statements before or after the vote.

It is my understanding that the Council is now ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Canada, China, Colombia, Cote d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Malaysia, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 668 (1990).

The Council has concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2942
24 September 1990

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 24 September 1990, at 5.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. VORONTSOV	(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
Members:	Canada	Mr. FORTIER
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Colombia	Mrs. CASTAÑO
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ESSY
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ethiopia	Mr. TADESSE
	Finland	Mr. TÖRNUDD
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Malaysia	Mr. RAZALI
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARDSON
	United States of America	Mr. PICKERING
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. LUKABU KHABOUJI N'ZAJI

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90-61104/A 1340V (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 5.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/21811, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Canada, China, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Malaysia, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 669 (1990).

The Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2943
25 September 1990

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 25 September 1990, at 4.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. SHEVARDNADZE	(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
Members:	Canada	Mr. CLARK
	China	Mr. QIAN Qichen
	Colombia	Mr. JARAMILLO
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ESSY
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ethiopia	Mr. DINKA
	Finland	Mr. PAASIO
	France	Mr. DUMAS
	Malaysia	Mr. ABU HASSAN
	Romania	Mr. NASTASE
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. HURD
	United States of America	Mr. BAKER
	Yemen	Mr. AL-DALI
	Zaire	Mr. MUSHOBEKWA KALIMBA WA KATANA

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90-61128/A 1388V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I have been informed by the Secretary-General that at this meeting of the Security Council, in addition to the Soviet Union, the following members of the Council are represented by their Foreign Ministers: Canada, China, Colombia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Malaysia, Romania, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Yemen and Zaire. I should like warmly to welcome the Foreign Ministers.

Côte d'Ivoire and Cuba are represented by their Permanent Representatives to the United Nations.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Kuwait in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In keeping with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite him to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah (Kuwait) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now begin consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/21816, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Canada, Côte d'Ivoire, Finland, France, Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Zaire.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following other documents: S/21812, letter dated 23 September 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of a letter dated 23 September 1990 from the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General; and documents S/21814 and S/21815, letters dated 24 September 1990 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Before we proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before us, I call on the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I appreciate this opportunity to say a few words at this important meeting of the Security Council being attended by a number of Foreign Ministers. The decisions taken at this meeting, like those to which they are a sequel, will have a momentous significance well beyond the crisis that has formed their context.

During the weeks since 2 August, the Security Council has found itself shouldering the heavy responsibility which the Charter has placed on it but which,

(The Secretary-General)

in earlier circumstances, it was unable to exercise. This is recognized all over the world. The assurance that needs to accompany it is that the Council views its responsibility as not only that of restoring peace but of upholding and maintaining peace with justice.

The power at the disposal of the Security Council is the power commanded by the solidarity of nations opposed to the transgression of the Charter of the United Nations. It is first and foremost the power of principle. What makes the Council's task particularly onerous - and, I am sure, ultimately fruitful - is that principles must be consistently applied and the Council's actions must be based on equity and perceived to be so.

The world has not had an experience of enforcement provisions under Chapter VII being used in the manner and on the scale in which they are in the present crisis. Now that they are actually applied, the United Nations is being subjected to an unprecedented test. It needs to demonstrate that the way of enforcement is qualitatively different from the way of war; that as such action issues from a collective engagement, it requires a discipline all its own; that it strives to minimize undeserved suffering to the extent humanly possible, and to search for solutions for the special economic problems confronted by States arising from the carrying out of enforcement measures; that what it demands from the party against which it is employed is not surrender but the righting of the wrong that has been committed; and that it does not foreclose diplomatic efforts to arrive at a peaceful solution consistent with the principles of the Charter and the determinations made by the Security Council.

During my visit to Amman some three weeks ago, I had occasion, and the need, to emphasize publicly that one wrong cannot justify another. I believe that this emphasis deserves to be sustained until this crisis is peacefully resolved. It

(The Secretary-General)

will carry the full force of conviction if we show that our effort to secure the correction of one international wrong does not mean that we leave other wrongs unaddressed. The world situation generally, and in particular the situation in the Middle East as a whole, presents itself as a proving ground for our probity in establishing the rule of law. If peace is to be made secure, justice must have the last word.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. AL-DALI (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Sir, at the outset I should like to express our great pleasure at seeing you presiding over this meeting of the Security Council at the ministerial level. You represent a friendly country with which mine has wide-ranging ties that are based on the treaty of friendship and co-operation between the two countries. Also, you have demonstrated great skill and prudence in contributing to the solution of many regional and international problems. We recognize your untiring efforts to find satisfactory solutions to many an outstanding problem.

The crisis between the two sister countries, Iraq and Kuwait, developed at an important historical juncture that marked the end of a phase of tense international relations and culminated in an end to the era of cold war and ideological strife between the two major blocs. Indeed, it has marked the beginning of the end with regard to the military alliances of East and West. The basic positive aspect of that important historical development has been the shift from confrontation to co-operation. On the other hand, however, it has shifted the focus of contradiction to the economic field in the area of North and South relations. The economic gap between the poor and the wealthy nations has widened to such an extent that it now poses the threat of dire consequences that may plunge the world into calamity.

The features of the new phase of international relations and the new international order have started to emerge in the form of a number of laws and contexts that are becoming apparent in the new international relations.

The application of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations by the organs of the world Organization falls within this context. This is especially so with regard to the Security Council as the international organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for international law as a basis for the relations between States

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

and the expansion of co-operation on the basis of the fundamental tenets of respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and the inadmissibility of the use of force to resolve disputes.

With the onset of this new phase and the high hopes of our peoples, the crisis broke out in the Gulf. At this moment in time, that crisis represents a crucial test of the nature and credibility of those international relations. Indeed it is a test, as far as the international community is concerned. It tests the ability of that community to translate those relations into concrete reality through its handling of that crisis. The way in which the crisis is addressed will determine the nature and the evolution of the new world order.

If there is to be a historical opportunity to turn over a new leaf in international relations so that peace, security, co-operation and mutual interests may prevail, it is only natural that the feasibility of achieving such a positive development should require the scrupulous renunciation of the old methods of work and the pursuit of narrow interests. As of necessity, this requires the renunciation of the old means of the use of force outside the framework of the United Nations and the subjugation of international principles and international law to the behests of narrow interests. Such principles and laws should not be made to serve narrow national interests.

The practical application of the new rules that should govern international relations requires that we should determine beforehand which of the two options of peace or war we shall opt for in addressing the current crisis in the Gulf region. Each option carries with it its own rules and consequences. Peace requires a commitment to intensive sustained efforts in the search of a fair and equitable solution of the crisis through the optimum use of the authority of the Security Council. It requires us to opt for the peaceful means at the Security Council's disposal. This we should do in a manner that avoids escalation and confrontation

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

and that would effectively lead to the achievement of the aims of the resolutions of the Security Council, in particular, resolution 660 (1990), which calls for the withdrawal of the Iraqi forces from Kuwait, respect for the sovereignty of both countries and peaceful negotiations with a view to resolving the crisis.

The alternative to peace is, of course, war, which would break out if force was to be used by certain Powers, in the belief that they may achieve those goals by military means. However, this option is extremely dangerous and could indeed lead to catastrophe and far-reaching devastation in the region. It may well have much wider implications for the whole world. War involves the possibility of a lengthy confrontation, with all the resultant human and material losses.

It is important to emphasize in no uncertain terms that we cannot accept a situation in which our brethren in the region would be the cannon fodder of such a war. We do not accept the devastation of our natural resources and the destruction of our lands under the motto of defending our interests.

Wars' consequences will not be limited to the Gulf. War will lead to the expansion of the area of conflict geographically, politically and militarily due to the fact that the region is closely interrelated with the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Arab region as a whole is ripe for explosion as a result of the stalemate in the efforts to achieve an equitable peace and the obstacles created by some Powers which are now vehemently advocating principles which we have long called for in the resolution of the conflict in the Middle East region as a whole and especially the cause of the Palestinian Arab people, as well as the West Bank, Gaza and the Syrian Golan Heights.

Moreover, a war would have far-reaching long-lasting effects on the world economy especially in the case of the developing countries. It will lead to the presence of foreign military forces in the area and create all forms of conflict between the countries of the region.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

If such a catastrophe should ever occur, then the new world order, which is a source of hope in the future, would be wrecked at the very outset through this grave military escalation in the region, especially if force is used outside the authority of the Security Council. This would be on the cards because those who advocate it enthusiastically do not do so from a desire to uphold the interests of Kuwait but rather to destroy Arab capabilities and tilt the scales in furtherance of Zionism's objectives and expansionist policies. In this connection, it should not come as any surprise that Israel is at the forefront of those who call for the use of force and the destruction of Iraq's military and industrial installations.

This bleak picture, which portrays the extremely serious consequences of war, makes it imperative for us to rule out such an option and spare no effort in working for a peaceful approach. Such an approach would require patience and flexibility so that there would be a genuine opportunity for a peaceful solution to the crisis that would put an end to the differences between the two principal parties concerned and restore peace and stability in the region.

In this context, our conviction that it is necessary to work for a peaceful resolution of this crisis between Iraq and Kuwait grows stronger from one day to the next. We wish to reiterate that the Republic of Yemen will continue its efforts to contain this crisis between the two sister countries in the firm belief that the Arab context is the only sound effective way to address the crisis and bring it to an end.

It is a source of hope to us that the Arab region now witnesses extensive and intensive efforts in that direction.

While referring to these efforts towards a peaceful resolution, we feel it is time that the Security Council should take a responsible stand in the face of the

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

grave developments in our region, pay due attention to those peaceful efforts and give them its support. Indeed, we expect the Council to take positive measures in order to contribute positively to a peaceful resolution of this crisis that would lead to the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait so that the resolutions adopted by the Council would not be used as a justification and pretext for war, but rather as an inspiration for peace.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

Because of that conviction, we are submitting to the Security Council a draft resolution that calls on all parties, including the countries of the region, to intensify efforts in exploring a peaceful approach that could end the crisis and on the Secretary-General to continue his good offices and mediate between the parties concerned in line with his perception of the realities, with a view to formulating a peaceful solution to the crisis. We would expect the Security Council to give that mandate to the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General has shown on previous occasions that he is prepared to work tirelessly for the solution of problems that had been thought impossible to solve. While we call for increased efforts by the Secretary-General, we also call upon our brethren in Iraq to make a positive response to the efforts which are being made to find a political solution to the crisis.

Without any doubt, those good offices will constitute a move in the direction of a political settlement to the crisis. This is especially the case because resolutions by themselves will not lead to that. Here it must be said that the Security Council has not so far highlighted the peaceful solution, while the crisis is being stridently escalated through the application of Chapter VII of the Charter without any parallel effort to encourage peaceful solutions, especially within an Arab framework.

In less than six weeks the Council has adopted three resolutions on the blockade against Iraq and Kuwait, although that blockade was effective from the outset - that is to say, since adoption of the first resolution on this matter: resolution 661 (1990).

This tendency reached the stage, in resolution 666 (1990), of interpreting "humanitarian cases" with regard to food supplies to our brethren in Iraq and Kuwait in an inhuman manner that would lead to a famine. This would mean the

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

starvation of innocent persons who have nothing to do with this crisis, especially children, women and old people. It is our responsibility to adopt a prudent approach, if the crisis is to be resolved peacefully. We should not resort to embargoes and famines but use the resolutions adopted by the Security Council to promote peaceful solutions.

On several occasions, including meetings of the Security Council, the Republic of Yemen has set forth its position on the crisis between the two sister countries, Iraq and Kuwait. We wish to emphasize the following basic elements of my country's policy on the crisis:

First, Yemen has never endorsed and will never endorse the principle of the occupation of the territory of others by force. It does not support the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq.

Secondly, my country will continue to seek an Arab solution to the crisis - a solution that takes into account all the causes of the crisis.

Thirdly, my country cannot endorse the idea that assistance should be sought through the use of foreign forces, for whatever reason.

Fourthly, we reaffirm our compliance with Security Council resolution 661 (1990).

Fifthly, rumours and false statements regarding Yemen's position on the crisis reveal unfriendly intentions towards Yemen.

Yemen's position is a reflection of the spirit of our times in regard to democracy and multilateralism. We are aware of the fact that since this crisis affects the new international order, it will have either positive or negative effects on the democratic changes in our region. The road to war will not lead to the promotion of democracy in our region. On the contrary, it is peace that would strengthen democracy in the region.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

It is opportune that Yemen should participate in efforts to create a new world order at this very historic juncture when the unity of Yemen has been achieved peacefully and democratically, on a solid foundation. It allows for a free exchange of views, freedom of speech, freedom of political opposition. Our Constitution protects freedom of speech because that is an important part of our history as well as of the transformation that has now taken place in our country. We shall remain vigilant in safeguarding this great achievement so that others may not have any possibility of using the present crisis to strangle our free and independent will.

In conclusion, we emphasize that concrete measures must be taken to deal with the complex and chronic issues in our region, foremost among which is the question of Palestine. That is the way to restore the Security Council's credibility and to ensure that it is serious about shouldering its responsibilities. We stress that all our efforts and activities in the Security Council will be designed to justify the confidence shown in us when we were elected to this body. We shall continue to co-operate with other members of the Council to that end.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I express our gratitude to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yemen for the kind words he addressed to my Government and to the Soviet Union.

Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): First, I welcome you, Mr. President, and express my delegation's pleasure at seeing you, a distinguished Soviet personality, an outstanding leader of the Government of the Soviet Union, with which mine has brotherly relations, guiding our Council's proceedings.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

The Security Council has shown unprecedented diligence ever since Iraq invaded Kuwait, on 2 August. It has adopted - sometimes in a matter of a few hours - an unending number of resolutions. For the first time in its history, it has demonstrated the will to enforce those resolutions.

Cuba voted in favour of the resolutions that rejected the inadmissible invasion of Kuwaiti territory, the illegal claim to annexation, and the violation of diplomatic norms as well as the conversion of foreign citizens into hostages. For reasons of principle, we reject the conduct of the Government of Iraq in this respect and we appeal to it, once again, to cease such conduct and to abide by Security Council resolutions 660 (1990), 662 (1990) and 664 (1990).

We continue to believe that Iraqi troops must withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Kuwait and that respect must be shown for the sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of that country. We reject any form of the use of force in an attempt to resolve international disputes.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

Those principles, which are sacred to us and which we are all duty-bound to respect in the case of Kuwait no less than in the case of any other State, are basic to all peoples of the third world, and we consider it essential that they be respected as soon as possible in order to save the world - and especially the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America - from possible catastrophe.

For those same reasons of principle, my delegation felt obliged on other occasions not to join with the rest of the Security Council. We believe the Council has a number of Charter obligations which it is bound to respect. Above all, we feel the Council must be consistent. We do not think it has been consistent in the past or that it is being consistent now given its conduct on other cases. I shall not go into those cases, but shall mention only a few names familiar to all members: Palestine, Lebanon, apartheid and Cyprus - and there are many others.

But in addition we have lacked consistency in the decisions the Council has hastily taken since August. The Council, which has been deft and effective in adopting one well-known resolution after another, has been circumspect towards the growing calls from many States under Article 50 of the Charter: we have spent more than a month trying to find minimum agreement on this matter.

The Security Council has been inconsistent on the imposition of sanctions, which, I reiterate, are, in the view of my delegation, inhuman actions because they deny thousands of innocent people, including children, the elderly and women, a fundamental right no one has the authority to take away: the right to basic foods and appropriate health care.

We have also been inconsistent in hastily adopting decisions without awaiting relevant information from the Secretary-General. Actions have been undertaken or threatened in response to alleged violations of the economic embargo imposed on

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

Iraq, when to date we have not received a single concrete accusation that the embargo is being ignored.

Now the Council is again being asked to state a position that would amount to strengthening the economic measures against Iraq without pausing to consider the adverse consequences this might entail for third parties - which if they later called on us to shoulder our responsibilities under Article 50 of the Charter might only encounter the same old Security Council, slow and circumspect about responding to requests from Member States.

The draft resolution before us not only contains clear threats that other measures - military measures, I presume - will be used against Iraq, but also lashes out against any State that might disregard resolutions already adopted, although to date no information has been received to indicate that any party is doing so; we have never even considered an allegation to that effect.

Moreover - and this is the crux of the draft resolution - those measures would extend to international air communications between Iraq and other States in a manner which, in our view, has very little to do with the charter signed in December 1944, in mid-war, to serve as the basis for the activities of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). It should come as no surprise that it was very hard to incorporate into the original draft resolution a specific reference to the December 1944 charter and its clear provisions.

My delegation views this text as continuing a line of thinking which, in our view, does not bring us closer to a settlement of the conflict, but rather closer to a military outbreak.

I call attention to paragraph 13 of the text before us. It is unfortunate that the sponsors could not accept our request for a separate vote on that paragraph, which contains wording the Permanent Representative of Kuwait had been requesting of the Council since the beginning of the month. He rightly conveyed

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

the anguish and concern of his Government over the plight of the population of Kuwait under foreign occupation. Today - and in the context of a draft resolution that actually deals with another subject - the Council is finally showing some sensitivity, including sensitivity to the people of Kuwait, which, one would have thought, ought to have been at the centre of our concerns. My delegation regrets that it will be impossible to put paragraph 13 to a separate vote; had this been done, my delegation would have voted in favour of it. We shall not vote in favour of the draft resolution as a whole.

We are aware of the desire to move swiftly to the vote, so I shall conclude by recalling that there is, always has been and always will be a need for the Council to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security, the supreme aspiration of the Charter. I have before me an ancient text which reminds us from the far-distant past that while there is a time for tension, for threats and for the use of force there is also a time for us to be a little more concerned with peace. The quotation is from Ecclesiastes; young Americans turned it into a song popular in the United States and around the world some 30 years ago:

"To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven:

"...

"A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace". (The Holy Bible, Ecclesiastes 3:1 and 3:8)

Let us hope that some day, sooner rather than later, the Council can finally devote some time to efforts that will not lead to war, but that will give peace a chance.

The Preacher also said,

"Wisdom is better than strength: nevertheless the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard". (The Holy Bible, Ecclesiastes 9:16)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Cuba for the kind words he addressed to the President of the Council.

There are no more speakers wishing to make statements before the voting. The Council will therefore now proceed to vote on draft resolution S/21816.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Canada, China, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Malaysia, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire

Against: Cuba

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, 1 against and no abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 670 (1990).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. BAKER (United States of America): Let me begin by saying how very pleased my country is that you, Mr. President, are chairing this historic meeting. I think that our meeting here today is indeed extraordinary. This marks only the third time in the 45-year history of the Organization that a meeting of the Security Council is being attended by all of the Foreign Ministers of the five permanent members. But then, rarely has the United Nations been confronted by so blatant an act of aggression as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Rarely has the international community been so united and so determined that aggression should not succeed.

Acts have consequences. The stakes, I think, are clear. For international society to permit Iraq to overwhelm a small neighbour and, in effect, simply to erase it from the map would send a very disastrous message. The hopes of our world

(Mr. Baker, United States)

for a new, more peaceful, post-cold-war era would be dimmed, if not dashed. The United Nations Charter would be seriously devalued at the very moment when its promise is closer to fulfilment than at any time in its history.

Speaking for the United States of America, I want to tell the Council that our hopes for a better world are real. The United Nations Charter embodies the values of the American people and people everywhere who know that might alone cannot be allowed to make right.

Elementary justice and a prudent regard for our own interests have brought about an unprecedented solidarity of countries on this issue. We are engaged in a great struggle and test of wills. We simply cannot allow our hopes and aspirations to be trampled by a dictator's ambitions or by his threats.

Our purpose must be clear and it must at the same time be clearly understood by everyone, including the Government and the people of Iraq. Security Council resolutions 660 (1990) and 662 (1990) establish the way to settle the crisis: complete, immediate and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate Government and, of course, the release of all hostages. Until that time the international community, through resolution 661 (1990) and its successor resolutions, has set a high and a rising penalty upon Iraq for each passing day that it fails to abandon its aggression.

These penalties are beginning to take effect, and bellicose language from Baghdad cannot compensate for the perils of isolation. Threats only prolong the needless suffering of the Iraqi people. Iraq has been quarantined because its brutal actions have separated it from the community of nations. There simply cannot be business as usual. In fact, there can be no economic exchanges with Iraq at all.

Today the United States, together with other members of the Council, supports a new resolution and additional measures.

(Mr. Baker, United States)

First, we explicitly state that resolution 661 (1990) will include commercial air traffic. This demonstrates once again that the international community is prepared to plug any loophole in the isolation of Iraq.

Secondly, we agree to consider measures against any Government that might attempt to evade the international quarantine. No temptation of minor gain should lead any Government to complicity with Iraq's assault on international legality and decency. I would even say that the more effective the enforcement of sanctions, the more likely there will be a peaceful resolution of this conflict.

Thirdly, we remind the Government of Iraq that it is not free simply to disregard its international obligations, especially the humanitarian provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Each and every day that Iraqi officials flout norms of elementary decency makes it that much more difficult for Iraq to resume its place in the international community and to repair the damage that it has done. On this point, I would like to take note of the call of the Arab League for reparations.

Many thousands of innocent people have been dislocated as well. That is why the United States supports a co-ordinated and unitary approach to refugee assistance and relief efforts. The appointment of Saddrudin Aga Khan is a major step in this direction.

Fourthly, the Council puts the Government of Iraq on notice that its continued failure to comply could lead to further action, including action under Chapter VII of the Charter. The international community has made clear its desire to exhaust every peaceful possibility for resolving this matter in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. But we are all very well aware that the Charter envisages the possibility of further individual and collective measures to defend against aggression and flagrant violations of international humanitarian law.

(Mr. Baker, United States)

Mr. President, you spoke for all of us earlier today when you said: "This is a major affront to all mankind. In the context of recent events, we should remind those who regard aggression as an acceptable form of behaviour that the United Nations has the power to suppress acts of aggression." You continued: "There is ample evidence that this right can be exercised. It will be, if the illegal occupation of Kuwait continues".

It is important, I think, to emphasize that the sanctions we have adopted are aimed at reversing the aggressive policies of the Iraqi Government. They are not aimed at the Iraqi people, people who are being forced to live with the consequences of an extraordinarily misguided policy.

The Council has acknowledged that its sanctions, as with any disruption, can be costly to many of our Member States. We have a duty to make sure that no nation is crippled simply because it stood for the principles of international order. The United States has worked with other nations to co-ordinate an international effort to provide assistance to those desperately in need.

The passing of the cold war has meant many things, but above all, it has meant a rebirth of hope. The horizons of democracy, of human rights, of national dignity and of economic progress have all been extended, and the result has been a rebirth of the United Nations as well. Suddenly, the vision of the Charter and the promise of international co-operation do seem within reach. In Central America, in Namibia, and perhaps, hopefully soon, in Cambodia and Afghanistan, this Organization makes signal contributions as a peacemaker. We are beginning to control at last the proliferation of conflicts, major and minor, that have exacted so high a price from humanity.

(Mr. Baker, United States)

Now, together, we all confront a supreme challenge to the United Nations and to all that it represents, for if this Organization is to fulfil its mission, if peace is to prevail, then Iraq's leader simply must not be allowed to gain from his assault on decency and his assault on basic human values. We must do what justice, what honour and what international peace demand: we must reverse Saddam Hussein's brutal aggression.

Mr. DUMAS (France): At the outset, allow me to express to you, Sir, our satisfaction at seeing you presiding here and guiding our work, which has already been described as historic. Those congratulations are extended to you personally, as an outstanding figure in all respects, and also to your country, with which my own is linked by very strong and long-standing friendly relations.

The new state of international relations is allowing the United Nations to demonstrate solidarity in dealing with the situations it faces in order to foster this new international order, which we all fervently wish to see. This order aims, as was stressed yesterday by the President of the French Republic addressing the General Assembly, at ensuring, throughout the world, the primacy of law and justice over force and arbitrary acts. The embargo is the instrument of this policy in the case of concern to us now, that of the Gulf.

The resolution we have just adopted, resolution 670 (1990), strengthens, for air transport, means of control similar to those which resolution 665 (1990) laid down for sea transport: by linking authorization for aircraft heading for Iraq or Kuwait to overfly national airspace to an obligation to touch down for inspection, and by also authorizing a number of restraining measures within limits compatible with international law and without endangering passengers or the security of aircraft.

(Mr. Dumas, France)

This means that the resolution fully meets the concern expressed by the 12 countries of the European Community and by the members of the Western European Union, which met on 18 September in Paris. In addition, it is one of the measures deemed necessary by the President of the French Republic immediately after the violations committed against our diplomatic mission in Kuwait.

This resolution is important both by virtue of its operative part and also by by virtue of what it signifies: it demonstrates our confidence in the policy of embargo desired by, decided on and implemented on 6 August by the international community. That is has been adopted will reassure those who wonder whether this policy will be effective; it will bring home to those who might be tempted to side-step their responsibilities what those responsibilities are; and it will also show proof of our determination and of our solidarity to those whose economies are suffering the repercussions.

An embargo is a weapon of peace: it was in this spirit that the Council decided on embargo, that the means for monitoring it were strictly set out and that they will be added to yet again tomorrow if it should be necessary.

I should like to take this opportunity to acclaim the outstanding work carried out by the Security Council since the beginning of this crisis. The Council, an expression of the community of nations as a whole and also of all that community's diversity, works to ensure that the international legality of which the United Nations is the depositary is observed.

The international community's unanimity has shown, indeed, that the present crisis does not stem from any supposed North-South confrontation. Rather, it is the basis for the conviction that a new international order, a more peaceful order in which there is greater solidarity, is already within reach today. It also emphasizes that neither is this a case of antagonism between the Western countries

(Mr. Dumas, France)

and the Arab world. The Arab world judges that the present crisis, which has its roots in a conflict between two of its members, is making of the Arab world its first victim. France has just one desire: for the Arab world itself to find a political way out of the conflict.

The resolutions of the Council set out the principles on which any solution must necessarily be founded. The Arab world must also ensure that the conditions which gave rise to the crisis do not occur again. That is what France's message means, as expressed by the President of my country yesterday: we must think in terms of peace if relations are to be established between the States of the Middle East, Iraq and Kuwait in particular, which will guarantee the peace and security of the region.

Mr. CLARK (Canada): I should like to begin by expressing my great pleasure that this historic meeting is being presided over by the Foreign Minister of Canada's good friend and next-door neighbour the Soviet Union.

Our meeting this afternoon at the level of Foreign Ministers marks an extraordinary moment in the history of the United Nations and of the Security Council. It is a clear testimony to the gravity with which we all view the perilous situation in the Persian Gulf. Since Iraq carried out its unilateral and unprovoked invasion of the sovereign State of Kuwait, the Security Council has worked ceaselessly to try to achieve a peaceful settlement of this grievous threat to international peace and security.

Canada condemns unequivocally the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. The invasion was clearly an act of overt aggression by one State against its neighbour, a flagrant violation of international law and a challenge to the principles of the international order on which world peace depends. Our challenge here today is to continue our collective efforts in persuading Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait and having the legitimate Government restored.

(spoke in French)

We can take collective pride in the unanimity with which this body has spoken time and time again during the past two months. Our voice has been echoed by the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations. This crisis is unquestionably grave, but the united response of countries of East and West, North and South, standing together, holds great hope for future collective action through the United Nations.

The resolutions the Council has adopted state in clear terms the path Iraq must follow if it wishes to resume its place as a full member of the international

(Mr. Clark, Canada)

community. It must first and foremost withdraw totally and unconditionally from Kuwait. Iraq must allow all those who wish to do so to leave Iraq and Kuwait. Canadians are horrified to see that their compatriots are being held against their will. Once it has carried out these measures completely, Iraq will be welcome to pursue its disputes with its neighbours through the channels established for the peaceful resolution of disputes, including the United Nations, channels to which it should have resorted in the first place.

(continued in English)

The single voice with which the international community has spoken and the implementation of the resolutions of this Council by the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations have not been without cost to many of those States, and I wish to pay a special tribute to the individuals and the countries that have paid a significant price for their commitment to upholding the Charter of the United Nations, the rule of international law and human dignity.

Through this crisis Canada has been active on three fronts: diplomatically both here at the United Nations and bilaterally, through economic and humanitarian assistance to those most seriously affected, and militarily by the dispatch of ships and planes to the Gulf.

Canada views this body as the principal instrument of collective international action to ensure Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. We have taken important steps together, and are taking an additional step today. Let us leave no doubt that this body stands ready to take further steps if Iraq does not move quickly to do what it is being called upon, time and time again, to do.

The decision of the Government of Canada to send ships as well as a squadron of aircraft to the Gulf to participate in the international effort to deter further Iraqi aggression and to ensure the implementation of United Nations sanctions is a

(Mr. Clark, Canada)

visible expression of our national commitment to uphold the Charter of the United Nations.

We all feel the plight of the tens of thousands of displaced person who fled Iraq or Kuwait, leaving behind their personal belongings and their hopes for a better life for themselves and their children, for an uncertain existence in hastily established refugee camps. The Canadian Government responded quickly to their tragic situation.

Today the Council has adopted its ninth resolution, co-sponsored by Canada, in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Each resolution has been painstakingly considered, and each country here has made its decision in full cognizance of the gravity of the situation and of its possible consequences. This is true above all of the resolution we have adopted today, which responds to the continuing blatant disregard of the Government of Iraq for the resolutions of the Security Council and the will of the international community.

The resolution we have adopted today tightens the sanctions imposed against Iraq and sets out the means by which their effectiveness is to be assured. But it does more than that. It underlines to the Government of Iraq that its continued failure to comply with the resolutions of this Council could lead to further action by the Council under the Charter of the United Nations, with potentially severe consequences.

Our diplomatic efforts to achieve an urgent and peaceful solution to this crisis will continue in the coming days. In carrying out these efforts Canada will work closely with our colleagues on the Council and with the countries of the region. The solidarity of the international community and of the Security Council in responding to this crisis is to be treasured, and we will work ceaselessly to ensure it is maintained.

Mr. HURD (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): May I say first of all that it is a real pleasure to gather here under your presidency of this extraordinary but necessary meeting of our Council.

Five years ago the Foreign Ministers of the members of the Security Council met round this table to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, and I suppose that meeting marked the beginning of efforts to make the United Nations work more effectively, to end the paralysis which had plagued the cold-war years and prevented the permanent members and the whole Council working together to fulfil their responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

On the debris of the Iron Curtain we are now building a new, a better international order. We have to entrench this new habit of co-operation if we are to be spared the hatred, the bloodshed which have scarred the history of this century so far.

Iraq's seizure of Kuwait faces this post-cold-war world with its first crucial test. So far the signs of the response are good. The United Nations, for the first time in its history, is behaving as the founding fathers intended. The United States, the Soviet Union, China, Western and Eastern Europe, Japan and a decisive majority of Arab and Muslim countries stand together in a unique coalition to defeat aggression. On this continued resolve by all of us rest the hopes for a better future.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

The invasion by Iraq of a State Member of the United Nations was an outrage in itself, a breach of international law given greater horror by the pillage of Kuwait and the ruthless treatment of foreign hostages and Kuwaitis alike. But it would be worse still if Iraq's treatment of Kuwait became a pattern for international relations in the years ahead. It must not be so, and that is what is at stake in this series of discussions.

It could be said that aggression, the obliteration of a small State, looting, and maltreatment of hostages is the oldest pattern in the world, but we must not let it return like a disease of which we thought we were slowly ridding ourselves. The Council has to apply firm and fitting treatment.

The representative of Cuba in his statement before the vote looked forward to the day when the Security Council would concentrate its efforts on the search for peace, for peaceful answers to the problems of the world. But I would say to the representative that that day is today. It is precisely by passing this resolution, by tightening sanctions and making them more effective that we are working for the peaceful reversal of aggression and for a peaceful end to this crisis.

There are many small countries with reason to fear the unfriendly attentions of a more powerful neighbour. There are many international frontiers whose existence is resented by one or other party. Given human nature, there might be, there are likely to be, from time to time, tyrants and demagogues entranced by the thought of appearing in front of the cameras to declare that this or that territory has been reunited with the fatherland. If Saddam Hussein is allowed to get away with the spoils of conquest, then other would-be aggressors will take heart, and that is what we cannot allow to happen.

None of us round this Council table or in the publics whom we represent relish the possibility of war, and that is why President Saddam Hussein is quite wrong to describe us as warmongers. He is the one who has used force, but because the

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

invasion was so quickly accomplished it is sometimes overlooked that Kuwaiti soldiers died defending their country after an act of open war. That is a fact of which the Foreign Minister of Kuwait, whom I am very glad to see in his place here, is entitled to remind us. The threat to the security and stability of the Gulf comes from Iraq, and that is why such a large coalition of peace-keeping forces has been assembled there. It is not the United States ranged against Iraq, but the States united. Every member of this coalition against aggression wants to see the independence of Kuwait restored by peaceful means, and that is why we have to make every effort to make the United Nations embargo against Iraq effective. That is why we are meeting today, that is why we have just voted - to add another brick to the international wall being constructed around this aggressor.

So success in this effort is indispensable to us all - if possible, achieved by peaceful means. This broad alliance, this concert of nations, has to reverse the aggression, restore legitimacy to Kuwait, and secure the release of the foreign nationals being held hostage. In doing this we do not just do justice to Kuwait; we can strengthen hopes of a more secure world order, an order based on the implementation of the resolutions of this Council rather than their rejection, whether in the Middle East or elsewhere. The other way lies failure. The other way lies the vanishing of hopes for a better future, leaving us once again - as so often before - in a world where the guiding principle of international relations is anarchy, punctuated by outbursts of destructive violence.

That is the essence of this discussion under your guidance, Mr. President. That is why the aggressor has to lose. That is why my country and the United Nations cannot rest until this goal has been achieved.

Mr. PAASIO (Finland): Let me join the other speakers before me in expressing the pleasure of my delegation at seeing you, Sir, assuming the presidency of this meeting of the Security Council.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

The Security Council meets today under unusual circumstances. The background for today's session is tragic. In the midst of a crisis, the Security Council has just adopted another resolution to follow up those adopted since early August under Chapter VII of the Charter. This new resolution follows logically the action already taken by the Council in order to deal with the invasion and occupation of the State of Kuwait by Iraq and to bring the crisis to a peaceful end.

Mindful of the fact that the Security Council is intended to act as the supreme organ for collective security, we hope that the holding of this meeting at the level of Foreign Ministers adds emphasis to the action the Council has taken in order to solve the crisis.

In our view, the adoption of today's resolution will give a clear signal of the determination of the Security Council to continue to uphold and strengthen the principle of collective security.

I wish to take this opportunity in order to set out briefly the principles on which Finland has based its policies with regard to the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq.

As a small, neutral country, Finland has a vital interest in promoting the development of a peaceful and rational world order based on the universal collective security system provided by the Charter. Collective security implies in actual fact that the security of Kuwait is also the security of all other States, in particular of the smaller Member States.

Finland is against the use of force by one State against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other State. We are against occupation resulting from such use of force. We believe that all disputes between States must be settled by peaceful means.

We believe that the authority of the United Nations must not be undermined by tolerating, in flagrant violation of the Charter, the purported annexation of one Member State by another.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

The fact that it has not always been possible in the past to apply the rules of Chapter VII of the Charter and summon the collective strength of the international community against aggression is no argument against the application of effective sanctions today.

We want to live in a world where the Charter is respected and where everybody knows that, if needed, the Security Council has the will and the capability to use effectively the instruments at its disposal. This is now being demonstrated by the Council in concrete action.

There is one message which in the midst of the crisis cannot be emphasized too often. It is that the world community wants a peaceful outcome to the crisis caused by the invasion and occupation of Kuwait. It must be based on the resolutions of the Security Council. We know that sincere efforts have been made in order to persuade Iraq to abandon its present misguided and dangerous policies and to withdraw from Kuwait. We know that the Secretary-General is readily available for further discussions with the Iraqi leadership, if such discussions could be useful. The road to a peaceful outcome is clearly marked. What is needed is for Iraq to choose that road and fully implement the resolutions adopted by the Security Council.

(Mr. Paasio, Finland)

Looking beyond the present situation, we see that there is a need for long-range international efforts to promote peace and stability in the whole region of the Middle East once the occupation of Kuwait has been brought to an end. The countries of the region will have the main responsibility for such efforts. They could be assisted by the United Nations and its other Member States in accordance with the principles of the Charter. Finland is ready to do its share.

The United Nations, representing the collective will and the collective strength of the international community, is now facing a challenge. This challenge must be met. The benefits will be greater security, greater justice and better opportunities for equitable development for all.

Mr. MUSHOBEKWA KALIMBA WA KATANA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I wish to congratulate you and thank you for convening this meeting of the Security Council at the political level of Foreign Ministers of the States members of the Security Council in order to consider once again the situation obtaining in the Persian Gulf.

On 2 August 1990 the world awakened to the shock of the events that had just taken place in the Gulf. Iraq, a Member State of the United Nations, a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and a member of the Arab League, had just committed an act of aggression and invaded Kuwait, a sovereign State and a full member of the aforementioned organizations. This act, contrary to all the principles of international law, to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principle of the non-use of force in relations between States, met with outrage and condemnation throughout the world.

The reaction of the Security Council, a principal organ of the United Nations entrusted by the Charter with ensuring international peace and security, was the prompt adoption of resolution 660 (1990), in which the international community

(Mr. Mushobekwa Kalimba wa Katana, Zaire)

called for the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait and the restoration of the sovereignty, national independence, integrity and legitimacy of the Government of Kuwait.

My country, Zaire, reaffirms the provisions of resolution 660 (1990) and it believes that if the resolution is accepted and implemented by Iraq it provides the best possible solution and the only way to avoid a widespread conflict in the region.

Zaire, which has voted consistently for, and sometimes co-sponsored, all the resolutions of the Security Council on the Gulf crisis, had hoped that these clear and precise messages sent to Baghdad would receive a favourable response. To all these steps taken in the quest for an honourable and peaceful settlement of the crisis, Iraq has responded with contempt and provocations.

The international community, in adopting resolution 670 (1990), at this meeting, following its resolution 661 (1990), wishes to send one further message to the authorities in Baghdad to cease defying its determination to ensure in the present circumstances the collective security of all its Member States.

By the resolution we have just adopted, Zaire does not wish to bring Iraq to its knees but rather wishes to make sure that no State, no matter how powerful, intends in the future to use brutal military force to crush the weak.

The Security Council, in having recourse to Chapter VII of the Charter, something very rare in the history of our Organization, is confronting Iraq with its responsibilities in the eyes of the world and calling on it to withdraw its troops unconditionally from Kuwait so that the multinational troops stationed in the region at the request of sovereign Governments would withdraw in turn. Zaire pledges itself to that.

If the roots of the crisis are eliminated, its effects will disappear also.

Mr. QIAN Qichen (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Sir, at the outset, please allow me to pay a tribute to you, the President of the current meeting of the Security Council. I am convinced that under your guidance this meeting at the ministerial level will proceed smoothly. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations. He has made commendable efforts to enhance the role of this world Organization in safeguarding peace, promoting development and strengthening co-operation.

It is the Chinese Government's consistent position that relations between States should be established on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries should be fully respected. In international relations China always opposes armed invasion and annexation of one sovereign State by another and advocates that disputes between States should be resolved through peaceful dialogue and friendly consultation without resorting to force. Based on those principled positions, China has voted in favour of Security Council resolution 660 (1990) and all subsequent relevant resolutions, including resolution 670 (1990), which has just been adopted, with a view to safeguarding the basic norms governing international relations and restoring peace and security in the Gulf region.

Regrettably, Iraq has shown no political will thus far to comply with the relevant Security Council resolutions. We call on the Iraqi Government to heed the strong aspirations of the international community, adopt a co-operative attitude towards the Security Council, immediately stop its occupation of Kuwait and withdraw its troops from that country.

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

In order to maintain world peace and restore peace and security in the Gulf region, the Chinese Government advocates that the current Gulf crisis be resolved politically and by peaceful means. We support the role played by the Security Council, and we also support the extensive efforts made by the Arab States on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions. Furthermore, the Chinese Government supports the United Nations Secretary-General in his continued efforts at mediation and good offices. At present tension in the Gulf region continues to rise, and this is pregnant with the danger of greater armed conflict. We understand and respect the necessary defensive steps taken by some Gulf countries out of consideration for their own security. At the same time, we believe that every effort should be made to ease the present grave tension. We in principle are not in favour of military involvement in the Gulf by big Powers, for such involvement will only make the situation even more complicated. We call on the countries concerned to exercise maximum restraint so as to prevent further deterioration of the situation. Use of force in any name is unacceptable to us.

We have voted in favour of the Security Council resolutions in the belief that they are aimed at promoting a political settlement of the Gulf crisis by peaceful means.

I wish to stress here that in implementing the provisions of resolution 670 (1990), concerning civil aircraft, the countries concerned should strictly abide by the relevant stipulations of international law and take rigorous steps to prevent any action that may endanger the safety of civil aircraft and the people on board.

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

We wish to express our concern over the plight of the foreign nationals inside Iraq and Kuwait, and appeal for guarantees of their personal safety, freedom and basic subsistence needs. We deeply sympathize with the countries that have suffered economic difficulties resulting from implementing resolutions on sanctions. We hope that the Security Council and the international community will take practical and effective measures to alleviate their difficulties.

The international community desires an early settlement of the Gulf crisis, while a comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East question is also what all the international community wishes to see. We are convinced that the solution to the Gulf crisis and the Middle East question will lead to enduring peace and security in the region.

The Gulf crisis has made people ponder the question: What kind of order should be established in the world so that peace can be preserved? In our view, it has been proved by post-war history that the kind of order that is based on military might and the use or threat of force will not stand in the end, whereas the five principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence are full of vitality. The current Gulf crisis is the result of the breach of these norms, while efforts towards its solution should be guided by the observance and defence of these norms. Force should be avoided and no efforts should be spared to achieve a peaceful settlement.

Mr. JARAMILLO (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): Before I begin, I should like to convey to you, Sir, the pleasure we feel at seeing you presiding over the Council. Colombia has close bonds of friendship and co-operation with your country. The fact that a Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union is presiding over the Security Council for the first time in history, and that most Foreign

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

Ministers of the other members are present here is in and of itself indicative of the historic importance of the item on which we have been convened.

On 2 August this year, the world was surprised to see its hopes deferred for a lasting and stable peace and a period of accelerated development. The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq dashed those hopes and brought about a reaction from the entire international community. Throughout its history, Colombia has emphatically upheld a position of condemnation of all acts that directly or indirectly violate universal harmony, the general principles of international law, or the basic norms of peaceful co-existence between peoples.

As a matter of principle, we have opposed the use or the threat of the use of force as a solution to international conflicts. We have also rejected all illegal forms of incorporating territory. That is why we voted in favour of the Security Council resolutions seeking a peaceful settlement of the dispute arising from the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and the subsequent annexation of the territory to Kuwait, thus violating the most important norms of international law and disregarding all the rights of the Kuwaiti people.

We must recall that the main factor triggering the confrontation has been oil. If Iraq, Kuwait and the rest of the Gulf did not produce oil, the crisis would probably not exist. That raw material is of vital importance for the planet and in particular for industrialized countries. The world did not learn the lessons of 1973, and that lapse has given rise to the new confrontation.

Whatever the solution to the present situation, the agenda of the United Nations must include as a matter of the highest priority the study and adoption of permanent measures whereby a world forum attended by consumers and producers could establish the parameters for dealing with that commodity, which is so vital to international life, peace and security.

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

Colombia does not believe in "good" invasions. It considers that, given the Security Council's attitude towards Iraq, a clear message is being sent to all who may be thinking of settling conflicts by violating the basic principles of peaceful co-existence among peoples. This may be an appropriate time to ponder the role of the Security Council - the one it has played and the one it will continue to play - in the context of settling conflicts that threaten world peace and security.

My delegation welcomes the role of the Security Council in the Persian Gulf crisis. Its action has brought about world solidarity and represents at this time the only hope for a peaceful solution. Had the Council acted similarly in the past, how many conflicts and how much bloodshed could have been avoided? For 45 years, the specific interests of the major Powers took precedence over the collective interests of world peace. The veto was used indiscriminately during that period to protect those privileges.

The consolidation of international peace and security must undoubtedly be the final goal towards which all of the functioning of the Security Council must be channelled in the future. That is an increasingly complex goal because world order is threatened by such structural factors as under-development, extreme poverty and the irrational use of natural resources. If the developing world fails to solve its problems and does not achieve the minimum conditions for subsistence that will allow it to live in dignity, all efforts to secure peace will be to no avail.

To achieve harmonious and peaceful coexistence requires sound foundations that are attained only when levels of development allow for meeting basic needs. If we lack clear policies intended to eliminate poverty and to promote an appropriate economic and social environment, international peace and security will be in constant danger.

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

The balance of power in the world has changed. It is obvious that new rules and elements offering clarity are needed. The move from confrontation to understanding between the major Powers inevitably entails a new order. That may not be easily found, but in any event it calls for approval by the great Powers. The greater importance and responsibility of the Council in the new framework makes it necessary for there to be greater co-ordination and a careful understanding of the various forces included in it in order to obtain decisive consensus.

Peace will only be possible when there is an appropriate balance of forces, when it can sustain itself without coercion or abuse. As the Secretary-General aptly says in his report this year on the work of the Organization:

> "It has been strikingly demonstrated that a status quo based primarily on the military factor is bound to prove fragile". (A/45/1, p. 2)

We are faced with the enormous responsibility of contributing to a definition of new rules of the game to govern relations among all nations on the basis of equity and respect for the cardinal principles of the United Nations Charter, in particular the self-determination of peoples and respect for human rights.

Matters as abhorrent as obsession with military security and the ensuing arms race distort priorities and place economic and social progress in a secondary role, thus reinforcing feelings of general insecurity and perpetuating differences between those who have traditionally enjoyed well-being and progress and those who wallow in poverty and destitution.

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

The efforts undertaken by Colombia to obtain the support of the Organization for initiatives to control the illegal weapons trade are well known. Although we are receiving more favourable responses, we have not yet achieved the consensus on our initiative that would give it validity and strength. We cannot understand why there is such insistence on wasting enormous amounts of resources and weapons which merely represent terror and devastation. The horrors of war, with its wake of suffering and destruction, cannot find justification in our times. The world still remembers the horrible military experiences of the last 50 years; the wounds have not yet healed and the results were not worth so much pain and devastation.

We wish, above all, to appeal for peace and reflection. We wish to insist on the urgent need to exhaust all the recourses to dialogue and to explore all the possible avenues of diplomacy and understanding, convinced as we are that any military confrontation would be a tragedy which we would regret for the rest of our lives.

On behalf of the people and Government of Colombia, I make an urgent appeal to all leaders and rulers who hold in their hands the crucial decisions at this moment. We cannot resign ourselves to thinking that the only solution to the problems of the Persian Gulf can be found in a war in which innocent lives would be sacrificed and wounds would be opened which would take years to heal.

We think the time has come to ensure that all the roads to dialogue and diplomatic mediation are kept open. The intransigence of any of the parties is a real obstacle to the quest for a solution, and such intransigence will be held responsible for the tragedy.

Security Council resolution 660 (1990) recommended the intervention of Arab countries to assist in the solution of the crisis. I believe we should encourage by all possible means an Arab solution to the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait. As Latin Americans we know from our experience that regional participation in the

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

solution of problems frequently offers more possibilities for success than the intervention of extra-regional Powers. The Central American process of recent years is clear proof of this assertion.

Today, as we did on 2 August in connection with another resolution, we voted in favour of resolution 670 (1990), which further develops resolution 661 (1990) on an embargo against Iraq. We would have wished that, together with this resolution that we have just adopted, there would be another one calling on all parties, and in particular on the countries of the region, to undertake maximum efforts for peace, tolerance and harmony and to refrain from any acts which might contribute to making it more difficult to find formulas for a peaceful settlement. We hope that a draft resolution along those lines can be submitted to the Council with our co-sponsorship in the next few days.

We are aware of the price of, and the suffering brought about by, an embargo but we prefer that to the price of war.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the Foreign Minister of Colombia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. ESSY (Côte d'Ivoire) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to see you here presiding over the work of the Council. Your country and you, Sir, have made an enormous contribution to the present development of international relations, thus allowing our Council today to play the role given it by the founding fathers of the Charter.

My delegation welcomes this meeting of the Council at the ministerial level, although, for reasons over which we have no control, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country was not able to be present this evening, much to his regret. Indeed, the seriousness of the question on our agenda requires co-ordinated action on the highest level.

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

I should like first, on this solemn occasion, to reaffirm in the Council that Côte d'Ivoire is a peaceful country which cannot tolerate any violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State of our Organization. States such as ours can guarantee their existence among nations only through scrupulous respect for international law. Therefore, they cannot accept recourse to force to settle any dispute, regardless how serious.

Kuwait, as a State believing in international law, as a full-fledged Member of our Organization as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement and as a sovereign State whose only fault was that it was a small country and a neighbour of a warlike military Power, has the right to expect the international community's support and protection. Côte d'Ivoire, which has long advocated the use of dialogue for the peaceful settlement of all disputes and conflicts, believes that in present-day international relations and in the United Nations system there is a whole legal arsenal and an array of practices for the peaceful settlement of conflicts of all kinds.

It is most deplorable that the question of the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq, despite all the resolutions which have so far been adopted by the Security Council and which are all part of the quest for a peaceful solution to this conflict, continues to threaten mankind with the spectre of war.

Iraq must understand that there is still time for it to reverse its shaky positions, to heed the call of reason, to recognize the fact that the Security Council cannot fail to shoulder its responsibilities, given the flagrant violation of the Charter and the breach of peace and international security of which Iraq is guilty.

The primacy of law over the use of force is binding on all; for if our Council is not able to take decisions to halt once and for all behaviour which violates the

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

international legal order and the most sacred rights of peoples to peace, independence and development, if force wins out with impunity over law, then our Organization will wittingly contribute to the perpetuation of a process of the inevitable self-destruction of our society.

Côte d'Ivoire has sponsored and voted in favour of the provision for the strengthening of sanctions contained in the present resolution because it believes that, in the present context, that is the only option allowing us to avoid war. Iraq must listen to reason and avoid forcing the international community to resort to actions with incalculable consequences, above all for the developing countries, which, more than ever before, need peace in international relations to fulfil the legitimate right of their peoples to development.

Mr. ABU HASSAN (Malaysia): Mr. President it gives me great pleasure to see you presiding over this meeting. Given the issue before us, the tested capabilities and experience that you bring to the presidency will serve us well. Your country, the Soviet Union, has also impressed many of us for its constructive internationalism and world view contributing towards the defusion of conflicts, rapprochement among Powers and an enhanced role for the United Nations.

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

The Security Council is meeting today at the level of foreign ministers. The implications of this are not lost on outside observers. Malaysia supports the idea, long held by the Soviet Union, that the Security Council must, at appropriate times, meet at this level to weigh and pronounce on important and critical issues. Such an issue brings us together today, but our meeting must not be taken to mean that we are ganging up and that we are closing the door on Iraq.

This is the eighth resolution adopted on the crisis since 2 August. Malaysia has steadfastly supported all the resolutions, as it has done again today, in furtherance of the objective of the international community: to bring about the withdrawal of Iraqi forces and the reinstatement of Kuwait. Each of the resolutions was painstakingly examined by Malaysia and others. In some cases we were less than happy over some aspects but, given the twin objectives I spelled out earlier, we went along in order to project, as we must, an international consensus.

Malaysia has been equally painstaking in examining this resolution. To apply sanctions on air traffic and transportation is risky and complicated. It was for that reason that Malaysia insisted that in operative paragraph 7 the resolution refer to the Chicago Convention. We realize that the thrust and objective of this resolution is, as in previous cases, to make sanctions effective and ensure compliance; that is the sole reason why Malaysia felt duty-bound to support the resolution. However, we cannot but feel perturbed over the apparent headlong rush, moving from one resolution to another in a period of seven weeks.

The question may be asked whether enough time is given for each resolution to take effect. Are we moving at this speed to make sanctions effective, or are we readying ourselves early for a situation where we will conclude that sanctions are not effective and that other measures must therefore be taken? Malaysia will not accept the latter course being applied. We do not accept that war is inevitable or

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

that we are escalating towards a confrontation. Malaysia believes our sense of uneasiness is shared by many outside the Council and that the Council should take stock of where it is going.

Many countries too are enduring much suffering because of the sanctions that we have had to apply. Malaysia is not satisfied that, as an international community and within the operations of the Sanctions Committee established under resolution 661 (1990), we have addressed ourselves enough to assisting countries that petition for help under Article 50. Much more has to be done. We cannot turn a blind eye to the fate of hundreds of thousands of foreigners, particularly from Asia, who are caught stranded in Kuwait and Iraq. Humanitarian cognizance must be accorded in such situations, and the Sanctions Committee should move swiftly, without political impediments being thrown in its way.

Malaysia, as a principle, is averse to the involvement of the armed forces of major Powers in any region. That we had to be party to authorizing the use of forces of certain countries in respect of resolution 665 (1990) does not sit easy with us. Further, the line of authority is not satisfactorily spelled out in resolution 665 (1990) and effect has yet to be given to the resolution's provision on reporting to the Council. We know that the forces of these countries are there also upon the request of Kuwait under Article 51. We understand well the misery of Kuwait and the anxiety of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. However, as a non-aligned member and coming from a region which has been a casualty of the battles and wars fought by armies of major Powers, we fear the consequences of a long-term presence of military forces of major Powers. That is why Iraq should respond positively to the Council's resolutions, particularly resolution 660 (1990), and remove the reason for the foreign presence and avoid the outbreak of war.

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

In a broader context, the collective manner in which the Council has reacted to the Gulf crisis has marked a revival of the concept of collective security and has raised hopes with regard to the role that the United Nations can play in the maintenance of international peace and security in the post-cold-war era, which is just beginning to unfold. Malaysia, and I am sure many of our non-aligned friends, would like to see that spirit of co-operation and determination sustained so that the members of the Council can act together in resolving many existing regional conflicts. In this connection, Malaysia feels encouraged by the co-operation between the five permanent members of the Council in working out a framework for a comprehensive political settlement for Cambodia which has readily been endorsed by the other members of the Council, leading to the adoption of resolution 668 (1990), on Cambodia, only a few days ago.

Malaysia, like many other countries, including yours, Mr. President, believes that the present crisis in the Gulf underlines the urgent need for more intensified efforts to be made to resolve other crises in the region, in particular on the question of Palestine. The Gulf crisis is not directly linked to the Palestine problem and other issues, but there can be no hope of a stable and secure Middle East if an equal commitment to their solution is not made by the Council.

The record of the Council as regards Palestine and the Israeli occupation of Palestine is dismal. Various vetoes have been applied that have virtually paralysed the efforts of the Council and curtailed the initiatives of the Secretary-General on these issues. Even on the obvious issue of the treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories there has been no redress. It is as if Israel has protectors in the Council and different standards are applied with regard to Israel. This does not speak well of the Council and those that wrongly protect Israel. Israel's actions, well documented, are recognized by the

(Mr. Abu Hassan, Malaysia)

international community as nothing short of aggression. Israel must be made to withdraw from the occupied territories, just as we are now applying all sorts of measures to make Iraq withdraw from Kuwait. There can be no double standards in the Security Council. And we do not have to wait for a solution to the Gulf crisis before the full attention of the Council is devoted to the actions of Israel and the situation in the occupied territories. If Israel continues to be obdurate and unresponsive, the Council must not hesitate to apply all the pressure and sanctions needed to ensure compliance.

Mr. DINKA (Ethiopia): Let me take this opportunity to express my satisfaction, Sir, at seeing you presiding over this meeting of the Security Council. Given your diplomatic skills and your vast experience in international affairs, it is most opportune that you should be at the helm of this important meeting.

Seven weeks have elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 660 (1990) in the early hours of 2 August 1990 in response to the crude and brutal invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. That resolution, it will be recalled, demanded that Iraq immediately and unconditionally withdraw its invading forces from Kuwait and called for the restoration of the legitimate Government of Kuwait. Since then the Council has adopted eight additional resolutions with a view to addressing many aspects of this problem. And yet neither resolution 660 (1990) nor the subsequent resolutions adopted by the Council has been complied with.

Regrettably, Iraq has consistently and unceremoniously defied the international consensus on the removal of its forces from Kuwait. Even as we speak there is no indication that Iraq is inclined to change its position and fulfil the requirements of resolution 660 (1990). In fact, to exacerbate matters, disquieting statements emanating from Baghdad continue with considerable frequency and intensity. Indeed, the situation is fraught with grave consequences for international peace and security.

On the other hand, the determination of the international community as demonstrated by the firm position of the Security Council leaves no room for equivocation. The Council's latest action with respect to Iraq's aggression against Kuwait is significant and underlines the Council's pivotal contribution to international peace and security.

(Mr. Dinka, Ethiopia)

It is evident that the United Nations is composed largely of small, often weak and vulnerable, nations which look to the Charter as the best means of preserving their sovereignty and integrity. Consequently, the world cannot condone a situation where the strong can subdue the weak and the small. In that regard, the decisive manner in which the Security Council responded to the Iraqi invasion has won the United Nations enhanced respect as the embodiment of a just international order.

Ethiopia's position with regard to Iraq's invasion, and its close co-operation with the rest of the Council members to bring about the withdrawal of Iraqi troops and the restoration of the legitimate Government of Kuwait, are prompted by our country's commitment to the system of collective security. We strongly believe that the resolve and solidarity manifested by the international community in defence of the rule of law are the surest means of deterring aggression.

Speaking with one voice and acting in concert, the Security Council has so far made ground-breaking accomplishments. In that regard, its resolution 665 (1990) was a broad and imaginative application of the Charter designed to meet the challenges posed by Iraq's expansionist policies. It is my delegation's conviction that resolution 670 (1990), which we have just adopted, complements the action the Council took earlier and will render sanctions against Iraq more complete and effective.

Although Iraq's attitude thus far leads much to be desired, it is our hope that the crisis in the Gulf will eventually be settled peacefully. In this connection I wish to reiterate Ethiopia's commitment to the peaceful resolution of the crisis. A peaceful resolution has to include, first and foremost, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops and the reinstatement of the sovereign Government of Kuwait. Any arrangement or formula that falls short of the

(Mr. Dinka, Ethiopia)

urgent realization of the stated objectives of resolution 660 (1990) would not be just and durable. To that end, my Government is prepared to work closely with other Council members to bring about the attainment of the goals we have set for ourselves in the successive resolutions the Council has adopted in the past few weeks.

Mr. NASTASE (Romania): At the outset, Sir, I should like to express my pleasure at seeing you in the Chair as President of the Security Council. I have the privilege of greeting you as the representative of a friendly country, as a great diplomat and as a promoter of the ideals of the United Nations in international life.

We came here to adopt the ninth Security Council resolution under the agenda item "The situation between Iraq and Kuwait". A while ago we adopted resolution 670 (1990), which was meant to strengthen the sanctions and other measures against Iraq in conformity with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. As a sponsor of that resolution, Romania attaches particular importance to all its provisions and believes that its implementation could play a decisive role in the peaceful settlement of the Gulf crisis.

This is not a new stand for my country, but a clear reaffirmation of a constant position which has been expressed here from the very first hours of the crisis. Allow me to recall it briefly: In early August, six hours after the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, the Romanian Government made known its stand, stating that no reason whatsoever could justify the use of force against a sovereign and independent State and asking for a cessation of hostilities and the immediate withdrawal of military forces behind the national borders of the two States. Romania was actively involved in, and contributed directly to, the drafting of

(Mr. Nastase, Romania)

resolutions condemning the invasion of Kuwait and demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Iraqi forces and the application against Iraq of the sanctions provided for by the Charter.

In the following days, the Romanian Government enacted the domestic regulations necessary to implement Security Council resolution 661 (1990) and to make sure the sanctions were observed by all Romanian citizens, firms and institutions. By doing that, my country expressed its strong commitment to morality and legality in all spheres of domestic and international life. Indeed, it is the very sense and the very purpose of our Organization that are at stake at this critical moment. It is unquestionable that the most immediate answers to the questions arising from the serious situation in the Gulf lie in the application of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the Security Council.

In that respect, one of the most encouraging aspects is the fact that the Security Council has demonstrated its capacity to exercise its powers and functions. Eight previous resolutions adopted by the Security Council on the item under consideration are a vivid illustration of the firm resolve of this body to perform the responsibilities entrusted to it by the world community of nations. The Council has reflected not only the views of its members but also the general feeling of the world community of nations by condemning the annexation of a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations. The Council has also given expression to an important requirement deriving from international law by reminding Iraq that its acts which are contrary to the Charter of the United Nations are null and void.

(Mr. Nastase, Romania)

At the same time, mention should be made of the determination shown by the Council through its formal and informal activities to ensure compliance with Security Council resolutions by maximum use of political and diplomatic means. In this connection my Government would like to reiterate its high appreciation for the personal efforts and initiatives of Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, who put his valuable experience at the service of our common endeavours.

Resolution 670 (1990), which we have adopted today, calls upon all States to carry out their obligations to ensure strict and complete compliance with resolution 661 (1990) and confirms that it applies to all means of transport, including aircraft. The resolution contains a number of provisions of a far-reaching nature, with a clear intent to oblige Iraq to put into effect earlier resolutions of the Security Council.

I pledge my country's full support for resolution 670 (1990). My Government will take further measures for its full implementation, as it did earlier after the adoption of resolution 661 (1990). Despite the difficulties with which my country is confronted as a result of the implementation of sanctions against Iraq, Romania will strictly observe and fully apply the provisions of resolutions 661 (1990) and 670 (1990).

In the same context, I cannot fail to mention that for Romania the strict observance of sanctions against Iraq means considerable losses, estimated at more than $3 billion. The hardship is even greater owing to the already difficult condition of the Romanian economy. Those losses and difficulties come at a moment that is of decisive importance for the economic reforms in Romania, and they generate additional suffering in the lives of our people.

(Mr. Nastase, Romania)

However, we are convinced that certain international values are vital to the world community as a whole. One such value is solidarity. It has been eloquently demonstrated by the very activity of the Security Council. It is in the spirit of that solidarity that we believe every effort should be made to find solutions to alleviate the difficulties of those countries which, by being faithful to the decisions of the Security Council, are seriously affected in the economic and social fields by consequences resulting from the implementation of resolutions imposing economic sanctions on Iraq.

In accordance with Article 50 of the United Nations Charter, a number of countries, including Romania, requested consultations, which, in our view, should be action-oriented and should facilitate the identification of solutions for assistance to be given to those countries seriously affected by the implementation of sanctions against Iraq.

We welcomed the adoption of resolution 669 (1990), in which the Security Council entrusted the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990) with the task of examining requests for assistance under the provisions of Article 50 of the Charter and making recommendations to the President of the Security Council for appropriate action. We express the hope that the Committee will perform that task in a constructive way, to the full satisfaction of all the parties concerned.

It has been stated by many States and by the Secretary-General that the invasion and purported annexation of Kuwait have evoked a historic response from the Security Council. The present meeting of the Council at the ministerial level is an event that emphasizes the high political value of that response. The violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law cannot be undertaken with impunity. Resolution 670 (1990) is clear testimony to that fact. In this respect, the Security Council has made a contribution to the peaceful

(Mr. Nastase, Romania)

settlement of the Gulf crisis that cannot be underestimated. It has made it crystal-clear that progress cannot be achieved on the overall situation in the area until the present crisis is set on the way towards a solution in accordance with the position taken by the Security Council.

Resolution 670 (1990) is additional proof that the international community is determined to reject the flagrant violations of the basic principles of international law. We share the view that in situations of conflict the United Nations can offer just and dignified solutions. We sincerely hope that the peace-making capacity of the United Nations will be strengthened, along with its authority in ensuring the rule of law in international affairs.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I shall now make a statement on behalf of the Soviet Union.

First of all, I should like to take note of the unusual nature of today's meeting of the Security Council, with the participation of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Council's member States. This may be the first time that discussion of a specific issue in the Council has taken place at such a high level, a fact that undoubtedly shows the critical nature of the present situation and the desire to resolve it as speedily as possible.

Behind the brief words appearing on the agenda of today's meeting there is more than simply "the situation between Iraq and Kuwait". The Security Council, like the whole of the international community, has the task of settling a most drastic crisis that has put the firmness of the existing civilized world order to the test. Iraq's aggression against Kuwait and the ensuing annexation of that State are a glaring violation of the fundamental norms governing international relations and of the most important principles of our Organization's constitution, the Charter of the United Nations.

(The President)

Notwithstanding the diversity of the views expressed, we are all united in believing that diktat by force, the flouting of what we know as international law, can have no place in the civilized world. A reaffirmation of this is to be found in the decisions taken by the Security Council, which reflect the demand of the entire world community for the unconditional restoration of the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate Government of the State of Kuwait. A first step in that direction must be, as stipulated in the Council's resolutions, the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

Here, I would digress from my prepared text for a moment to say the following: Various views were expressed here and various approaches to the text of the resolution we have just adopted were suggested. One delegation voted against it. I would not exaggerate the importance of that fact. I think that the most important thing is the condemnation of aggression and the demand for the withdrawal of troops from Kuwait, and on that point we are unanimous - both the delegations that voted in favour of the resolution and the one that voted against it.

Hope that those goals will be achieved is nourished by the fact that the United Nations has assumed the role intended for it when it was founded, the transformation of the the Security Council into an effective mechanism for the maintenance of international peace and security. By acting consistently and without delay the Council has justified the mandate entrusted to it by the Charter. No one should have any doubt about its unshakeable policy, which expresses the will of united nations to oppose resolutely a policy of faits accomplis and the illegal actions of the Iraqi authorities and armed forces directed against foreign citizens detained in Kuwait and Iraq, against embassies in Kuwait and their staffs and against Kuwaiti citizens and their property.

(The President)

Today's resolution is yet another, inevitable step, a perfectly logical step, given Iraq's stubborn refusal to implement the decisions of the Security Council. It is a completely legitimate reaction to Iraq's continuing challenge to the international community.

I wish to emphasize that this decision of the Council is likewise aimed at ensuring absolute compliance with the sanctions against Iraq and is in strict conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law. At the same time, the expansion of the sphere of monitoring the full application of the sanctions laid down by the Council is something we regard as a continuation of the tireless efforts aimed at achieving a peaceful solution of the conflict.

I cannot fail to mention the fact that from the very start of the crisis, the Soviet Union has placed the main stress in its policy on collective efforts based on full use of the rights and capabilities of the United Nations and on the need to resolve the crisis through non-military, political and diplomatic methods. We note with satisfaction that this approach is shared here within the United Nations as well.

The preference expressed at Helsinki by the Presidents of the USSR and the United States, Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Bush, for a peaceful settlement of the crisis was a sign of the times.

By joining our voice to the Council's voice of collective reason, we shall continue a most active dialogue with Iraq and with all parties affected by the crisis. We are convinced that the focus of joint efforts must be a de-escalation of the crisis and a political solution.

This does not, however, diminish our determination to achieve a cessation of the aggression, and if the steps now being taken do not bring that result, then we

(The President)

shall be ready to consider the possibility of additional steps, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to demonstrate that aggression cannot and will not yield advantages.

To what extent and how soon will it be possible to implement the peace-making potential of the United Nations which is opening before our very eyes? The answer to this question depends on the consistency of the efforts made by all States and by our Organization as a whole. The Arab States must have their important say. We believe that a useful role, as in the past, can be played by the tireless peace-making efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar.

We hope that the significant statement made at this meeting of the Security Council for restoration of the international legal order will be heard and correctly understood in Iraq and that the leadership of that country will choose a course of action leading to the resolution of the crisis and to the restoration of peace and legality.

Here we must also express our conviction that, having provided for a solution of the crisis in the region of the Persian Gulf, we should, without delay on a collective basis, concern ourselves with healing the other age-old wounds of that region, first and foremost through a solution of the problems of Palestine and of Lebanon. I believe that our colleagues here have raised these issues quite rightly as a matter of principle.

Our main objective is to stop the aggression. To reconcile ourselves to it would be to stop the world clock that has started to show the time for a new era; it would mean dashing the hope of all countries, small and large, that mankind could look to the future with optimism. That cannot be allowed.

I now resume my function as President of the Security Council.

The Council has thus concluded its voting procedure, and it has been proposed that we should hear other statements.

(The President)

I now call on the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, Sheikh Al-Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, and I welcome his participation in the work of the Security Council.

Sheikh AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me satisfaction and gratification to see you, a dear friend, presiding over this historic meeting of the Security Council, representing also your great country, which is skilfully and responsibly carrying out its privileged role in maintaining international peace and security, and in rejecting and resisting aggression.

I extend my greetings also to my colleagues, the Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the Security Council, who, through their personal participation in this meeting have elected to demonstrate their firm determination to use the capabilities and powers of the Security Council given it by the Charter to implement its resolutions and spare the region and its peoples the scourge of a conflagration, the effects of which cannot be foreseen.

As I take part with you in this meeting, another meeting comes to mind, at which I had the honour of representing Kuwait as a member of the Security Council. At that meeting, on 29 September 1978, we voted in favour of resolution 435, containing the independence plan for Namibia. And despite the regular rotation of the Council's membership, I still see no wavering in the Council's determination to implement the objectives of the Charter and to ensure a world free of the use of force in the settlement of disputes.

I come to you bearing greetings from the Government and people of Kuwait, a small, peaceful country; we greet you for your courageous, historic stand on the side of Kuwait against the aggression and occupation inflicted on us by a neighbour who is also a brother, a neighbour whose leaders have become drunk on sheer brute force and whose behaviour has become perverted into a fierce greed for expansion, a greed which knows no bounds, no laws and no morality. I come to you from a people

(Sheikh Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

which has consistently chosen its path to serve as a bridge for friendship, a beacon of wisdom and a force for good. Through the twists and turns along that road, Kuwait has used the resources granted it by God's will in such a way that they became a source of pride and well-being for its people, a source for sharing with their brethren, and a source of help for friends in need. To you, friends, and through you, to all the countries which have supported our just cause, we give our thanks.

Your resolution today, the ninth in a series of resolutions adopted by the Security Council since the beginning of the treacherous aggression by Iraq and its occupation of Kuwait, confirms that the battle is between the leaders of Iraq on the one hand and the entire world on the other. The rejection by Iraq's leaders of your resolutions, their flouting of them, have transformed the aggression from an aggression inflicted on one country to an aggression against the entire civilized world, its values, traditions and norms of behaviour.

(Sheikh Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

The world can no longer accept the continuance of the Iraqi aggression. Iraq must be forced by all means available through the Charter to heed the international will and withdraw all its forces from my beloved country's soil, unconditionally and without qualification, so that its legitimate Government may return to resume its mission, thus avoiding a raging conflagration in the region.

The economic embargo imposed upon Iraq is certainly not an end in itself. It is a peaceful means to attain an objective: implementation by Iraq of the binding resolutions of the Council. Thus, despite its negative effects for the peoples of Kuwait and Iraq, and indeed for some other peoples and States, the embargo is necessary to ensure full implementation of the Security Council's resolutions, because the world is determined to ensure that the aggressor does not reap any benefit from its aggression.

The Council's resolutions, particularly 660 (1990), 662 (1990) and 664 (1990), set limits that must not be overstepped. None must be conceded; none must be subject to negotiations. We cannot under any circumstance accept any move by any party that does not accord with the letter and spirit of those resolutions.

The Emergency Arab Summit Conference held in Cairo, through its resolution 195, adopted all the elements of the Security Council's resolutions. Furthermore, the Islamic States, at a Ministerial Meeting held in Cairo, blessed and supported those resolutions. Thus the Security Council's will has been united with the will of the Arab and Islamic world, and indeed with the will of the international community, in a historic stand to isolate the Iraqi régime from the peace-loving, civilized States and peoples. That régime has imposed its outlaw status on itself, and thus obliged us to stand up to it.

There can be no negotiations with Iraq until it has explicitly and unequivocally accepted the Security Council's resolutions and begun to implement them.

(Sheikh Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

Here we have the right to ask if Iraq itself did not make the same demand vis-à-vis Iran with regard to resolution 598 (1987)?

I come before the Security Council today bearing the feelings of the Kuwaiti people towards those generous lands that have warmly and fraternally, and with a sense of common destiny, given haven to some citizens of Kuwait who have been forced by the aggressor's harshness to leave their land, the land of their fathers and forefathers, because of its premeditated actions aimed at stripping Kuwait of its people, changing its demographic make-up and, indeed, erasing its national identity, not to mention the acts of pillage and theft. Not even Mosques, hospitals and public installations have been spared such actions, which are also intended to instil despair in the hearts of those Kuwaitis who due to circumstance and custom were outside their country at that time of the year.

But before the Security Council I declare that the people of Kuwait, under the leadership of its Emir, Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabeh, will, with God on our side, with the help of our brothers and friends, and with the support of this Council for the just cause of Kuwait, will liberate our homeland, the land of pride of generosity, and will work, as always, to maintain peace and security in the region.

The Council, while in this resolution supporting the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 1949, on the protection of civilians in time of war, has decided that Iraq, as the occupying Power, is fully responsible for the behaviour of its forces and all its policies in Kuwait directed against the people of Kuwait under occupation. Therefore the Government of Iraq is bound to bear full responsiblity for the destruction and pillage being inflicted on the economic and social infrastructure of Kuwait, both public and private. The Iraqi Government is also legally bound to pay full reparations for the destruction it has inflicted on Kuwait.

(Sheikh Al-Sabah, Kuwait)

There have come to our attention the suspicious attempts of some States and some circles to distort the nature of the Iraqi aggression in the eyes of the international community. In that context, Kuwait wishes to affirm that the substance of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait is the continuing occupation of Kuwait, which prevents its legitimate Government from returning to it. These are but after-effects of the aggression. When the occupation is eliminated, when the entire land of Kuwait is free of the trampling boots of the occupier, and when the legitimate Government has returned, all those after-effects will be eliminated.

I am in duty bound to say a few words to my friend the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Javier Perez de Cuellar. He has been courageous and faithful. He has sided with right and justice. He derived strength from the Council when in a statement he said recently

"An injustice has been done a small country that has been one of the States most attached to the United Nations and its objectives."

I wish to assure him that the people of Kuwait, and indeed the entire world, will remmber the role he has undertaken, for the world cannot accept the continuing injustice in Kuwait at a time when all the forces of justice are fighting the forces of evil.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kuwait for his kind words addressed to the Council and all the participants in today's meeting.

There are no further speakers for this meeting.

I express my heartfelt thanks to all my colleagues for their co-operation and mutual understanding, and for the businesslike attitude that has prevailed at this meeting, as a result of which we have proved able to adopt a most important resolution today.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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27 September 1990

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 27 September 1990, at 12.55 p.m.

President:	Mr. VORONTSOV	(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
Members:	Canada	Mr. FORTIER
	China	Mr. [illegible] Daoyu
	Colombia	Mrs. CASTAÑO
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ESSY
	Cuba	Mr. MORENO FERNANDEZ
	Ethiopia	Mr. GOSHU
	Finland	Mr. TORNUDD
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Malaysia	Mr. RAZALI
	Romania	Mr. VOICU
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PICKERING
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. LUKABU KHABOUJI N'ZAJI

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90-61139/A 1498V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.55 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS IRAN-IRAQ MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP (S/21803)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Anbari (Iraq) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General (S/21803) on the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) for the period 23 March 1990 to 21 September 1990.

(The President)

Members of the Council have before them also the text of a draft resolution, which is contained in document S/21822 and has been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it.

If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Canada, China, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Malaysia, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution in document S/21822 has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 671 (1990).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.